

A HISTORY OF OLYNTHUS

BY

MABEL GUDE

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins
University in Conformity with the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Extract from Volume 17 of The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology)

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WITH A PROSOPOGRAPHIA
AND TESTIMONIA

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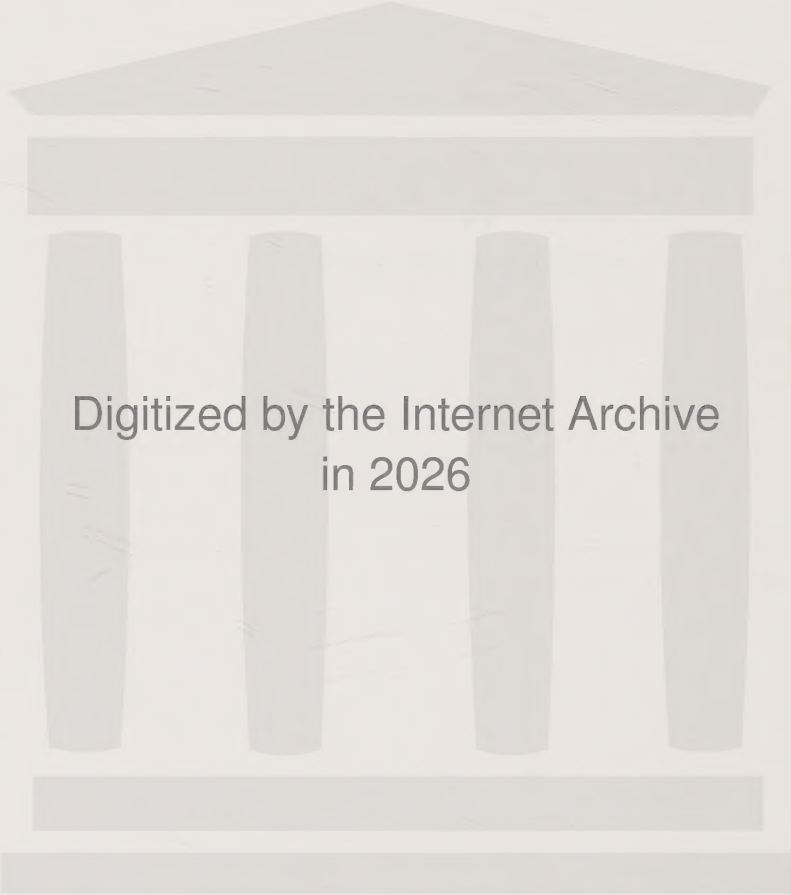
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To
FLORENCE SPARR GUDE



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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to set forth all the evidence not purely archaeological for the history of Olynthus.¹ The three sections of the monograph are not mutually exclusive. The *Testimonia* comprise quotations or summaries of all the significant literary or epigraphical sources which have come to my notice. The *Prosopographia* is a list of all the Olynthians mentioned in such sources or on coins. To these has been added a brief survey of the history. Undoubtedly this historical sketch will need revision and amplification when further excavation shall have been carried out in Chalcidice. But students of the Olynthian finds will, perhaps, be glad to have the *Testimonia* available at once.

Dr. Robinson, under whose direction this study has been carried on, has been most generous with suggestions and criticisms and encouragement. Dr. Allen Brown West, whose *History of the Chalcidic League* has been of the greatest service, was good enough to read and criticize the monograph in manuscript. I am deeply grateful to him. I want, too, to thank Dr. A. D. Fraser, who also read the manuscript, and made many stimulating suggestions.

MABEL GUDE.

¹ For the archaeological evidence, cf. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, I, *The Neolithic Settlement* (by G. E. Mylonas); II. *Architecture and Sculpture*; III. *Coins Found 1928*; IV. *Terracottas*; V. *Mosaics, Vases and Lamps*; VI. *Coins Found in 1931* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1931-1933).

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INTRODUCTION

THE GRAECO-MACEDONIANS AND THE BOTTIAEANS Ca. 1000-479 B. C.

The history of Olynthus can, to an unusual degree, be fixed within definite chronological limits, 479 and 348 B. C. Events prior to 479 may be treated as constituting a prologue, those after 348, an epilogue.

The prologue must be built up from archaeological sources checked by incidental references in Herodotus (VIII, 127) and Thucydides (II, 99).²

² There are two variants of the tradition that Olynthus was founded by a hero who gave his name to the city. One is preserved by Conon (*Narr.* 4, quoted in A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*: Olynthus), who says that the city is named for Olynthus, the son of Strymon, a Thracian river-god. That is another way of saying that Olynthus is located on or near the River Strymon, which is not very close to the truth.

Olynthus is made the son of Heracles by both Athenaeus (VIII, 334e) and Stephanus of Byzantium (I, 327). The latter gives only that bare fact, but Athenaeus is fuller as befits the author of fifteen books of *Deipnosophistae*. The story, which he gets from Hegesander, is a mixture of myth, miracle, and natural history. Olynthus is the son of Heracles by Lake Bolbe,—closer to Chalcidice than the Strymon. His monument is on the stream, Olynthiacus, named for him. Now, according to the native folk, every year Bolbe sends Olynthus a gift in the form of the fish "Apopyris" (cf. *ibid.*, VII, 295c, for another association of Olynthus with a special kind of sea-food), with the result that an immense catch of this delicacy can be made by every one. But the marvellous thing is that the fish never ascend beyond the monument of Olynthus. Moreover, the offering from Bolbe is made in the two months in which the good folk of the region now pay, and used to pay their due in sacrifice to the shades of the departed. The locale of this rather complicated tale is not the city Olynthus at all, but the stream Olynthiacus, and especially the neighbourhood of Apollonia, north of Chalcidice in Mygdonia. However, we may be permitted to assume that this Olynthus gave his patronage to the place as well as to the river. It was because of

From these we learn that Olynthus was occupied, prior to 479, by Bottiaeans, who had been driven from the Thermaic Gulf by the Macedonians. That is all the help we get from our literary sources, so that the archaeologist is forced to reconstruct the pre-Persian period without any suggestive tradition. This task has been complicated by the fact that there has not been absolute agreement, even among specialists, as to the site. As it happens, neither at Agios Mamas, nor at Myriophyto (the two favored sites) have confirmatory inscriptions been found. But it is almost certain that the latter is the classical city.³ However, this classical Olynthus was not the first city to flourish there; indeed, seemingly anomalous proof of earlier occupants has been found. For the excavators have unearthed remains of a neolithic settle-

this storied association with Heracles that T. E. Mionnet (*Descriptions des Médailles antiques grecques et romaines* [Paris, 1806], I, p. 479) and J. Eckhel (*Doctrina Numorum Veterum* [Leipzig], II, 73) wished to assign a Theban coin with his head to Olynthus. For fish as reverse type on Apollonia coins, cf. Gaebler, *Zeit. f. Num.* XXXV, 1926, pp. 196-197; Robinson, *Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931*, p. 46, nos. 57-58.

There is no mention of Olynthus in Homer, nor yet in the tragedians. But in two Alexandrian writers, Euphorion (cf. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, p. 41 [58]) and Hegesippus (cf. C. Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 424, No. 4) we find epic characters figuring in a story in which there is a casual reference to the place. It is the tale of the love of Laodice and Acamas, and of their son Munitus who is "killed by a serpent in Olynthus, while hunting."

In the *Epistolographi Graeci* (R. Hercher, Paris, 1873, p. 630, lines 33 ff.) a correspondent of Philip's informs him that the conventional tradition of the Chalcidian origin of Olynthus is wrong, for it "formerly belonged to the Heracleidae." This fancy may link up with the literary connection of Olynthus and Heracles, or it may be rather by way of laying a sort of ancestral claim to the place, inasmuch as the kings of Macedon traced their ancestry to the Temenidae (cf. Thuc. II, 99). Pre-Persian Native Pottery found at Olynthus dating from 1050 to 479 B. C. shows that it was inhabited long before the Chalcidians came. Cf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, V (*Mosaics, Vases, and Lamps*), pp. 15-63.

³ Cf. *Excavations at Olynthus*, II, p. x.

ment that flourished about 2900 B. C., but none between it and that of the Iron Age;⁴ yet the name "Olynthus" is thought to be Early Helladic.⁵ Now at Agios Mamas the finds are exactly the reverse of those at Myriophyto: rich Helladic remains, but no traces of an Early Iron Age settlement.⁶ That is to say, the two sites supplement each other. The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence has been set forth succinctly by Mylonas; "... after the final destruction of the neolithic settlement at Olynthus (i.e. Myriophyto) the Helladic village of Agios Mamas, built by the conquering race, drew all the settlers. . . . The mound of Agios Mamas was named Olynthus by the Early Helladic people. When the Greek settlers selected the Megali Toumba (the neolithic site at Myriophyto) for their site, they gave it the name of Olynthus, the name of the ruined Helladic village not far away."⁷

The coming of these Greek settlers may well be taken as a starting-point for the history of Olynthus; for, though both the site and the name were used before, they were the first to apply the name to the site.

In a study of Local Olynthian Pottery in the Iron Age,⁸ Mylonas interprets the archaeological evidence for the half-millennium preceding the Persian Wars in the light of the scanty literary references to the Bottiaeans. From Thucydides (II, 99) he infers that these folk emigrated to Olynthus soon after 700 B. C. The Iron Age ware falls between c. 1000 and c. 500 B. C. without any sharp break. Therefore the Bottiaeans were related to the earlier inhabitants of Olynthus.

⁴ Cf. *Excavations at Olynthus*, I, pp. 95-97.

⁵ Cf. *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXII, 1928, pp. 141 ff.; *Classical Philology*, XXI, 1926, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ Cf. *J. H. S.* XLVIII, 1928, p. 186; *B. S. A.* XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 117-155.

⁷ Cf. *Excavations at Olynthus*, I, pp. 95-97, for a full discussion of the evidence, and a more elaborate statement of the conclusions.

⁸ Cf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, V, *Mosaics, Vases and Lamps*, pp. 15-63, especially p. 61.

Mylonas demonstrates further that the pottery proves that the Iron Age folk, both the Bottiaeans and their predecessors, were Greek Macedonians, related to the Central Macedonians.

On the other hand, the Iron Age ware is separated by a burnt layer from the red-figure stratum, which is to be dated about 500 B. C. Here our literary tradition begins to be of help. In Herodotus (VII, 122) we learn that Olynthus was one of the towns from which Xerxes requisitioned troops and ships in the course of his march from Sardis in 480 B. C. We have no way of knowing how enthusiastically these contributions were made. From the sequel (VIII, 127) it would seem that they were not entirely voluntary. However, it is quite possible that the cities along Xerxes' route, expecting the great king to be successful, welcomed an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the future lord of Greece. After his dramatic repulse, some of them either changed their allegiance or showed their honest feeling. Anti-Persian sentiment manifested itself not only in Potidaea, which had fought on the Greek side in the battle of Plataea,⁹ but in the rest of Pallene,¹⁰ as well; and, more surprisingly, in the Bottiaeans town, Olynthus. Artabazus at one stroke making an example of it and rewarding the king's faithful adherents, laid siege to the town. ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.¹¹

There seems to have been a certain vagueness in the minds of geographers, and other commentators on affairs "Thrace-ward," as to the location of Olynthus. Thucydides,¹² who had seen service in Chalcidice, describes it as sixty stades

⁹ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², I, 31.

¹⁰ Her. VIII, 126.

¹¹ Her. VIII, 127. E. Harrison's theory (*Cl. Quar.* VI, 1912, pp. 93-103, 165-178) that the Chalcidians may have constituted a tribe, rather than a group of Euboean colonies, seems highly plausible, and has been adopted.

¹² I, 63.

from Potidaea; while Hypereides¹³ defines Mecenberna as a city of Thrace (*sic*), twenty stades from Olynthus. Hypereides is not the only one who confuses the limits of Thrace and Macedonia, for Pliny,¹⁴ Stephanus,¹⁵ and Libanius¹⁶ bear him out in locating Olynthus in Thrace, and Conon¹⁷ implies that that is his guess too. Mela¹⁸ and Scylax¹⁹ place it in the Chalcidic region of Macedonia. Isaeus²⁰ makes Spartolus a "city of Olynthia," as it probably was in 390 B. C., when the oration *On the Estate of Dicaeogenes* was delivered,²¹ though it was still Bottiaean in 429 B. C.²² when Menexenus was a phylarch there. Similarly Dio Chrysostom²³ refers to Stageira as a "village in Olynthia," thus bringing Aristotle's native city into the sphere of Olynthian expansion of the fourth century.

It may be appropriate before leaving the geography of Olynthus to take note of a few scattered references to the nature of the soil. Theophrastus²⁴ started a tradition that it was of a peculiarly fertile nature, and in this he was followed by Apollonius²⁵ and probably by Pliny²⁶ and Varro,²⁷ though they do not acknowledge the debt. Theopompus,²⁸ on the other hand, is responsible for a curious bit of informa-

¹³ Quoted by Harpocration, *Index*, Μηκύβερνα. Strabo VII, fr. 28 says "seventy stades."

¹⁴ *N. H.* IV, 11 (8) and XI, 28 (34).

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶ VIII, p. 607. Ed. R. Foerster, Leipzig, 1915.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ II, 2, 9.

¹⁹ C. Mueller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, p. 53.

²⁰ V, 42.

²¹ Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, p. 351.

²² Thuc. II, 79.

²³ XLVII, 9.

²⁴ *Αἰτρίων Φυτικῶν*, I, 20, 4; *Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἰστορίαι*, VIII, 11, 7.

²⁵ G. Keller, *Rerum Naturalium Scriptores Graeci Minores* (Leipzig, 1875), I, p. 51.

²⁶ *N. H.* XVIII, 12 (30).

²⁷ *De Re Rustica*, I, 44, 3.

²⁸ F. Mueller, *F. H. G.* I, p. 327, fr. 286.

tion about a place near Olynthus called *Kantharolethron*, because it was deadly to beetles, though not to other living things. Aristotle,²⁹ Strabo³⁰ and Pliny³¹ also record this.

As vague to the ancient commentators as the matter of geography, is that of the origin of Olynthus. We have noticed that it was early claimed for the Heracleidae, but this was not a common conviction. Polybius³² refers to the *σύστημα* of Greek cities "Thraceward" (of which Olynthus was most outstanding) colonized by the Athenians and Chalcidians. Strabo³³ speaks twice of Chalcidian colonization in the vicinity of Olynthus, but patently excludes Olynthus from this group. Libanius³⁴ labels Olynthus a city of Thrace of the Hellenic race from Chalcis in Euboea. Scylax is content to call it Hellenic.³⁵ It will be remembered that Herodotus had stated quite specifically (VIII, 127), that Olynthus had come into the possession of the Chalcidians, in 479 B. C.; that hitherto it had been Bottiaean. Yet there is no hint of the Bottiaean origin in the non-contemporary writers. That is, however, not unnatural, since in the Bottiaean period Olynthus was entirely negligible in Greek history. In fact, it was not until two or three generations of Chalcidians had grown up in Olynthus that the city came into prominence. It was easy to lose sight of the earlier tradition.

²⁹ *Mirab. Auscult.* 120.

³⁰ VII, Fr. 30 (C 330).

³¹ *N. H.* XI, 28 (34).

³² IX, 28, 2.

³³ VII, fr. 11; X, 68.

³⁴ *Loc. cit.*

³⁵ *Loc. cit.*

CHAPTER I

THE CHALCIDIANS 479-401

In 479 B. C. the Chalcidians took over the ruined village, Olynthus, their reward for loyalty to Persia. The following year they found themselves in a difficult diplomatic position. They had supported the losing side, and what was more damning, the side to which they were bound by no cultural nor commercial ties. Expediency, if that was the motive, had been an unfortunate gamble.

We do not know exactly how or when the Chalcidians declared themselves pro-Greek, but it was probably well before 454 B. C.¹ The evidence for the intervening period is lamentably scant. There is a hint as to how the cities "Thraceward" may have been brought to an appreciation of the strength of the anti-Persian forces, in Thucydides (I, 98). Having described the institution of the Hellenotamiae (96), and the shortcomings of Hellanicus (97), he goes on (98): *πρῶτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυνμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος.*² In the treaty of 421 B. C. (V, 18, 5), it is stipulated that six cities, of which one is Olynthus, are to be autonomous, *φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου*. These statements may seem to imply a contradiction: if the cities on the Thracian seaboard had to be forced into conformity, they would hardly have been charter members of the Delian Confederacy. Some authorities emphasize the legal exactness of the treaty terminology,

¹ Olynthus appears on the first list after the transfer of the treasury of the Confederacy of Delos to Athens. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* V, 1; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 51. See also Thuc. V, 18, 5.

² Cf. also Herodotus VII, 106, 2: *οὔτοι ὦν πάντες, οἳ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαιρέθησαν*. Cf. also Plutarch, *Cimon*, 7; Polyaeus, VII, 24.

and argue chiefly from that.³ Francotte, on the other hand, believes that "Aristidean" is applied to a system rather than to a period of assessment: "tout s'explique si nous admettons que 'ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος' designe un système, créé par Aristide, et qui a pu être appliqué plus tard par lui ou par d'autres à de nouveaux alliés."⁴ Less extreme is the theory that Aristides acted as assessor during a period embracing the Cimonian expedition, and that the Chalcidian cities, among others, were admitted between the end of that expedition and the end of Aristides' term of office.⁵

It is natural to allow a little time for the cities that had been loyal to Persia to renounce that allegiance and ally themselves with her enemies. It would be reasonable to look for some immediate cause for this step, comparable to the siege of Eion. The account of Thucydides implies a date for the siege very shortly after the formation of the confederacy, so that Aristides may well have been in office long enough to determine the assessments of members who entered at that point.

From 454 until 432 B. C. we are dependent on the tribute lists of the Athenian Hellenotamiae for information about Olynthus.⁶ Her name appears or can be restored or supplied on eleven of the lists for this period. In three cases the amount of the tax or, rather, the "percentage for the goddess" (one-sixtieth of the tax) can be read. It is always two hundred drachmas. In two other cases one of the two "H's" is left. In 454-3 B. C. Olynthus is joined with two other towns, Scabla and Assera, which together pay "H †III." Thereafter Olynthus is taxed by herself.

³ So Julius Beloch, *Rh. Mus.* XLIII, 1888, p. 110, "Die thrakischen Küstenstädte gleich bei der ersten Veranlagung der Tribute miteinander geschätzt worden sind . . . Folglich ist der 'πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς' bei Thukydides mit dem 'ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος' identisch . . ."

⁴ Henri Francotte, *Les Finances des Cités Grecques*, p. 102.

⁵ Cf. Allen West, *History of the Chalcidic League*, p. 11; and *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, p. 44.

⁶ *S. E. G.* V, 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22.

When the payments of Scabla and Assera are preserved, they pay fifty and forty drachmas respectively. The three towns would thus total two hundred and ninety drachmas. Therefore it is suggested that the Phegetioi, who are later taxed a maximum of twenty-six and two-thirds drachmas, were included in this tributary area, and the "percentage for the goddess" for 454-3 would be restored "HHHΔII †IIII."⁷ It is not surprising that these petty tributes were at first grouped together, and collected through a sort of farming system. Such associations of towns may have been a mere matter of convenience, though West sees in the uniting of Olynthus, Scabla, and Assera an early indication of a union among the Chalcidic cities with Olynthus as the instigator and dominant member. The break-up of these unions may have been part of a far-reaching Athenian policy, as he suggests; it may even have been a definitely punitive measure. But it may also have been another example of the familiar individualism of Greek cities: that is, the break-up of the union may have come about at the wish of the members themselves.

We really cannot infer much from the tribute-lists in the case of Olynthus, except an undistinguished stability. She apparently could, and did, pay a modest tax uninterruptedly. Therefore, we may conclude that her relations with Athens were untroubled. The events of 432 B. C. show that they were not conspicuously cordial.

We may probably assume that one contribution of the pentacontaetia was a softening of resentment between the Bottiaeans and the Chalcidians, and an amalgamation of these two elements in the population of Olynthus. For we need not suppose that there was a complete annihilation or elimination of the Bottiaean Olynthians in 479. Probably many of the country folk were undisturbed in their holdings, and kept up their connections with the new city that grew

⁷ *S. E. G.* V, 1. I am indebted to Professor West for this suggestion about the Phegetioi.

up on the site of the old. Doubtless many of those who were driven out of the city proper drifted back in time. Those members of the "Chalcidic tribe" who came to cultivate their new holdings must have had to reckon with an appreciable Bottiaean element.

Inasmuch as the town did not assume importance for two generations, there was opportunity for a slow, peaceful assimilation. Through the connection with their predecessors, which is here posited, the Chalcidians of Olynthus achieved a certain historical continuity: kinship with the Bottiaean folk whose strongest cities were Ichnae and Pella, occupying the little stretch of coast between the Axios and the Haliacmon. Perhaps this association was not entirely negligible in predisposing towns of the interior as well as those of Chalcidice to the formation of the league of which this village was yet to be mistress.

Thucydides was ostracized from Athens in 443 B. C., and thereafter Pericles was free to pursue his imperialistic policy without serious opposition at home.⁸ But opposition abroad was not lacking. A famous example of this dissatisfaction was the Revolt of Samos in 440 B. C.; but more significant for our story was the fluctuation in the Thracian tribute for that and the following years. Although Olynthus had not been burdened with an increased impost, and had no other known reason to feel antagonistic, her citizens doubtless shared in the general hostility toward the Periclean policy. At any rate, in 432 B. C. they lent a ready ear to the proposal of Perdiccas of Macedon that the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans should revolt from Athens. Perdiccas chose the opportune moment when the Athenians had rudely commanded the Potidaeans, whose city was only seven miles from Olynthus,⁹ to cut off relations with Corinth, give hostages, and raze her walls toward Pallene. Not only the Potidaeans, but the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans revolted, and formed an alliance together with Perdiccas.

⁸ Cf. *C. A. H.* V, p. 474.

⁹ Thuc. I, 63, 2.

To facilitate the defense that would be necessitated by their revolt, Perdiccas prevailed upon the Chalcidians to abandon and pull down their coast towns and combine in making one strong city at Olynthus. This synoecism is the most important event in the history of the city: it united the resources of the majority of the Chalcidians and made their "national domain" a political power.¹⁰

Inasmuch as the Olynthians were in a minority, and had not even initiated this significant move, the new-comers preferred to be called by the racial name rather than by that of their new city. We see this fact reflected in the coinage, which for only a short time bears peculiarly Olynthian types or inscriptions, soon giving way to the well-known Apollo series with the inscription "ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ."¹¹

The revolt occurred in the year before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and a pretense of polite diplomacy was still maintained by Athens and Sparta. Athens, nevertheless, dispatched a force against the rebels and their Macedonian ally, with slight results. Olynthus, for her part, mobilized the Chalcidian troops, including a detachment of cavalry, and made a creditable stand against the invader.¹²

In 431 B. C. when the war had formally begun, the Athenians entered into negotiations with Sitalces of Thrace, through Nymphodorus, their proxenus at Abdera. He contrived also to detach Perdiccas from his Chalcidian-Bottiaean alliance and to reconcile him to Athens.

Another campaign against the Chalcidian rebels was undertaken in 430-29 B. C.; but the ravages of the plague so depleted the strength of the Athenians that little was effected. However, during the winter Potidaea capitulated, and the inhabitants went out under safe conduct into Chalcidice

¹⁰ Cf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, II, p. xi.

¹¹ Cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 209; H. Gaebler, *Zeitschrift fuer Numismatik*, XXXV, 1925, pp. 210 ff.; Robinson, *The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1928*; and *The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931*.

¹² Cf. Thuc. I, 62, 63.

or "wherever they could find a home." Undoubtedly a great many of them found a home in the city of their Chalcidian allies, Olynthus, which had offered a more successful resistance to Athens than their own city.¹³

In 429-8 B. C. the Athenians distinctly lost ground in Chalcidice; Olynthus and the Bottiaeans made corresponding gains. The Athenians began the campaign of that year in the vicinity of Spartolus; reinforcements of Chalcidians were dispatched from Olynthus, the Athenian generals were slain and the army routed. The Chalcidians and Bottiaeans signalized their victory by erecting a trophy.

Meanwhile Sitalces was preparing a huge levy of Thracian troops. The ever-vacillating Perdiccas was now opposed to Athens, and Sitalces planned to dethrone him, and to discipline Athens' rebellious subjects as well, as had been agreed between him and Nymphodorus. But Athens failed to co-operate with him, so that he contented himself with over-running Chalcidice, Bottiaea, and Macedonia. At this point Perdiccas succeeded in winning the friendship of Seuthes, the nephew of Sitalces, with the result that the great expedition was abandoned, and the invaders went home. Olynthus was never in serious danger again during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁴

We have no record of campaigns "Thraceward" for four years. In 425 B. C. the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans came to the rescue of Eion, which had been captured by a small force under Simonides, and expelled the Athenians.¹⁵ Elsewhere Athens was extraordinarily successful; and the Sphacterian affair had reverberations as far as Chalcidice. For in spite of their tolerable security, Perdiccas and the Chalcidians invited the Spartans to send a force for their protection. As a result Brasidas quietly worked his way north by land in 424 B. C., winning friends for Sparta all along his route. In company with him the Chalcidians actually took the offensive, and Amphipolis was driven to capitulate when

¹³ Thuc. II, 29, 58, 70.

¹⁵ Thuc. IV, 7.

¹⁴ Thuc. II, 95, 101.

besieged by the joint forces, and under his direction a daring band of Olynthians, headed by one Lysistratus, slew the Toronean sentinels and so opened Torone to the Spartan troops.¹⁶

In 423 B. C. the Lacedaemonians and Athenians concluded a truce by whose terms the *status quo* was to be maintained, and neither side was to receive deserters from the other. Now at the very time that the truce was being arranged, Brasidas was encouraging the towns of Pallene to revolt. As it happened, Scione did so just after the ratification. Brasidas, far from refusing to countenance this defection from Athens, encouraged and supported the rebels. At Athens, Cleon and the war-party found in this a glaring example of Spartan perfidy. Though the truce was observed outside of Pallene, an expedition for the recapture of Scione was voted. This action Brasidas chose to regard as an infringement of the terms of the truce, and thereby justified his continued support of the rebels. So when the pro-Spartan oligarchic party in Mende plotted to add that city to his alliance, he promptly received them. He foresaw a hard struggle over these places, for which he prepared by consigning the women and children under guard to Olynthus.¹⁷

For the rest of the year Spartans and Chalcidians fought steadily against the Athenians and Macedonians over Torone, Mende, Scione, and Potidaea. In 422 B. C. the armistice officially ended. Cleon took command of the campaign "Thraceward". One of his first successes was the capture of Torone. The women and children were enslaved, the men were sent to Athens. These Chalcidians (Toroneans and others) to the number of seven hundred were later exchanged man for man for the prisoners taken by the Olynthians.¹⁸

¹⁶ Thuc. IV, 79, 101, 102, 109, 110.

¹⁷ Thuc. IV, 123.

¹⁸ Thuc. V, 3. West, *Hist. Chal. League*, pp. 29 f., says,— "On only two occasions did Olynthus accomplish anything of importance,— once when they exchanged prisoners at Athens . . . and a second time when they captured Mecyperna . . . we may well be surprised

In the same year both Brasidas and Cleon fell in the Battle of Amphipolis. Thereupon the peace parties on both sides were able to bring about a cessation of hostilities. The chief goal of the Athenians was a restoration of her power in the North, and several articles of the treaty are concerned with the "Thraceward" region. Olynthus is coupled in Article Six with Spartolus and Stalus (which had been Lacedaemonian allies from the beginning of the war) and Argilus, Stageirus, and Acanthus (which had voluntarily gone over to Brasidas). To these six cities Sparta renounced all claim. They were to be autonomous, but to pay the Aristidean tribute; they might enter the Athenian alliance, but could not be forced to do so.¹⁹

In Article Seven it is stipulated that the Meciynaean, Sanaean and Singian are to dwell in their own cities under the same conditions as the Olynthians and Acanthians. West²⁰ has offered a very lucid explanation of the relation of these cities to one another and to Olynthus and Acanthus, accounting for their place in this special category. He believes that these cities were to be, if they were not then, inhabited by a minority of the original inhabitants, who had held aloof from the synoecism of 432 B. C. and succeeding years. He thinks it probable that Spartolus and Acanthus followed the example of Olynthus and sought a peaceful expansion at the expense

by the small part that they played in the general history of the league, . . . but the explanation is a simple one. Thucydides was interested only in the league as a whole." A careful, unprejudiced reading of I, 57, and 58, seems to prove that to Thucydides the Chalcidians are a group, exactly on a par with the Bottiaeans, with whom a foreigner (for example, Perdiccas) can treat as with a united folk. There is absolutely no change in his usage after I, 58, 2 (the formation of the synoecism). The political status of the individual Chalcidian was unchanged by the synoecism; it was his social and economic status which underwent a serious modification.

¹⁹ Thuc. V, 18, 5.

²⁰ *Hist. Chalc. League*, pp. 69-80. Professor West has pointed out that in the assessment list for 423/2 the Γαλαῖοι are listed with the Σίγγιοι and Μηκυβερναῖοι, all paying the nominal sum, Δ. This perhaps means that for Σαραῖοι in Thuc. V, 18, 5 we should read Γαλαῖοι.

of the neighboring Bottiaean and Andrian villages. In the case of the Chalcidians, in most of the villages the whole folk did forsake their holdings and begin life over again at Olynthus. But Meciберна and Singus—the treaty would go to prove—had some citizens too loyal either to their old homes or to Athens to accept the new way of things. It is these minorities that are provided for in Article Seven.

As West says,²¹ this article gives a good picture of the methods employed by the Chalcidian state. But by “state,” I believe, we must understand the “city-state,” Olynthus,—an Olynthus much increased in size and prestige by the activity of the preceding decade. West thus describes the union of Singus with Olynthus.²² “It is not so certain that Singus was among the number of the rebellious cities in 432, . . . we must conclude that Singos revolted from Athens during the first years of the war and moved the greater part of its inhabitants to Olynthos . . . and we must connect this loss of population with the well-known Chalcidian policy of concentrating its power in Olynthos, especially since this policy was concerned with sea-coast towns that would be hard to protect.”

The Athenian attempt to guarantee the rights of minorities was not wholly successful, for in 421 B. C., peace or no peace, the Olynthians captured Meciберна.²³ As a matter of fact it was a case of no peace—as Thucydides rather plaintively describes it: an “ὑποπτος ἀνοκωχή” (V, 26, 3); and among other evidences of doubtful acquiescence, “οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν ἥσσαν πολέμοι ἦσαν” (Thuc. V, 26).

The shade of Brasidas might have been moved to wam mirth, observing how little the rebellious temper of the Chalcidians was chastened by his death. But the advocates of peace at Athens and Sparta must have found it far from mirthful. The Lacedaemonians dispatched commissioners “Thraceward” to enforce the terms of the treaty, but their own representative there, Clearidas, refused to give up

²¹ *Hist. Chalc. League*, p. 79. ²² *Op. cit.* p. 74. ²³ Thuc. V, 39.

Amphipolis, "χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶη βία ἐκείνων παραδιδόναι."²⁴ All that Sparta could do, she did: she withdrew her troops from the North, and left the Chalcidians to carry on their rebellion alone.

Not only the allies Thraceward, but others nearer home were dissatisfied with the treaty. This opposition tended to bring Athens and Sparta together, and resulted ultimately in the formation of an alliance for fifty years. In consequence, the next few years saw a series of novel alignments of their former allies, struggling to maintain a certain balance of power.²⁵

It will be remembered that from the beginning, Corinth had supported Potidaea. She now declared her inability to countenance the treaty because of her obligations to her colony and "τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης." She was also making friendly advances to the Argives, and brought the Chalcidians into their league. In the same year (421 B. C.) the Chalcidians conferred with delegates from Boeotia and Megara, but nothing came of this conference.²⁶

By 418 B. C. the Lacedaemonians and Argives were in alliance and they together carried on negotiations with Perdiccas and "τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία." And "τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τοὺς τε παλαιούς ὄρκους ἀνεγέωσαντο καὶ ἄλλους ὤμοσαν."²⁷ The Chalcidian-Athenian conflict had not abated, although on the whole, it lacked noteworthy incident. We hear, however, of the voluntary going over of Dium from Athens to the Chalcidians. And there are records of funds appropriated for the campaign "ἐπὶ Θράκης" or "ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ" for 418/7, 417/6 and 415/4.²⁸

By 416, the Chalcidians were maintaining ten-day truces

²⁴ Thuc. V, 21.

²⁵ Well discussed by West, *Hist. Chalc. League*, pp. 87 ff.

²⁶ Thuc. V, 30-31, 38.

²⁷ Thuc. V, 80, 2.

²⁸ *I. G.* I², 302; Tod, M. N., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1933), 75. Cf. Meritt, B., *Athenian Financial Documents* (Univ. of Mich. Press, 1932), ch. V.

with Athens, and in conformity therewith they disregarded the Spartan order, to co-operate with Perdiccas, who was at this point on the Lacedaemonian side. The brief mention of this truce,—a mere parenthesis to the narrative of Lacedaemonian activities—comes as a surprise after the prominence of affairs “Thraceward” in the treaty of 421. But the explanation is forthcoming three chapters later (VI, 10, 5) where Nicias pleads, in a speech opposing the Sicilian expedition, duty nearer home. Not least pressing is the need to reduce the Chalcidians, “οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἔτη τοσαῦτα ἀφειστώτες ἀφ’ ἡμῶν, ἔτι ἀχείρωτοί εἰσι. . . .” That is the last mention of the Chalcidians in Thucydides. West²⁹ believes that we may infer that “the Chalcidians were at peace with Athens, but did not care to become the ally of either side in the war,” and that during the next decade they kept a strict neutrality. As for the troubled years after the fall of Athens, the position of the Chalcidian state as an independent ally of Sparta, preserved it from the bloodshed and upheaval rife elsewhere.

Thus at the beginning of the new century we find Olynthus in a not unenviable position. The strenuous years of the Archidamian war had served merely to employ her adolescent restiveness profitably; they had not sapped her strength. In addition she had won great prestige through her generous treatment of refugees from cities like Potidaea, Scione, and Torone. Though such sites, and even some towns of the synoecism were re-settled, perhaps from Olynthus itself, their power could not rival hers, and she had a claim on their allegiance that hardly needed to be voiced.

It is highly probable that many of the Chalcidian towns were repopulated, as far as possible, with the old inhabitants, since this was the Spartan policy.³⁰ Of course Lysander

²⁹ *Hist. Chalc. League*, pp. 93 ff.

³⁰ Xenophon, *Hell.* II, 2, 5-9. Λύσανδρος . . . εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε . . . Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν . . . ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἰγιναν, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας: ὥς δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο.

could not enforce this policy against the will of an independent ally, but Olynthus was probably ready to co-operate, foreseeing that under the circumstances the move would increase rather than lessen her power. For it does not seem arbitrary to assume that these late-Olynthian populations allied themselves very closely with their foster-mother, perhaps continuing to participate in the rights of *συμπολιτεία*, *ἐγκτησις* and *ἐπνγαμία*. It is in the relations of Olynthus with these neighbor-colonies that we may look for the beginnings of the Chalcidic League. But while it embraced only this restricted group, it was little more than a greater Olynthus. The inclusion of cities bound neither by kinship nor gratitude was deferred until the time of Amyntas III.³¹

APPENDIX

The Chalcidic League, and the nature and time of its origin, are the most controversial problems in the history of Olynthus. Inasmuch as various dates within the period just under consideration have been suggested, a fuller discussion of the political status of "the Chalcidians" may be in place at this point.

It had long been orthodox to interpret Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 2, as meaning that a league had been formed not many years before 382 B. C. (By the formation of a league is meant the participation by autonomous cities in the rights of *συμπολιτεία*, *ἐγκτησις*, and *ἐπνγαμία*.) Thucydides and

³¹ Before discussing Olynthus and Macedon, it may be of interest to note that Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 1, 2, 6) records that a contingent of Olynthians accompanied the expedition of Cyrus in 401 B. C. He could have had ample opportunity to hear from these men stories of the exciting years of the Archidamian War, and of the "so-called truce, when the Chalcidian allies were no less hostile." We may assume, then, that he had a very sound conception of just how important Olynthus was in her own neighborhood, at the end of the fifth century, but could picture, too, a very circumscribed sphere of influence. Proud as was the Olynthus which dominated Chalcidice, which, in a sense, was Chalcidice, at the time when Xenophon was in charge of the Catabasis, her ambition was very modest compared to the "*μέγα πρᾶγμα φνόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι*" in 383 B. C.

Demosthenes seemed to corroborate Xenophon. For Thucydides was entirely silent about the Chalcidic League, and Demosthenes apparently thought that the Olynthians were interrupted by Sparta in the early years of their venture, and that then, adopting a different diplomacy, they grew to be far more powerful in the decade before 348 B. C. than in that before 382 B. C.¹

Beginning with Swoboda² there has been a tendency to associate the formation of the league with the activity of "the Chalcidians" in the Peloponnesian War. As late as 1911, however, Head³ adopted the old view; but West⁴ suggests 432, Seltman and Robinson about 423, Walker⁵ 421, Gaebler,⁶ 415 B. C. Their conclusions are based on the coinage, which is stylistically of the fifth century, and on a reinterpretation of Thucydides.

Now it seems strange that Thucydides failed to mention the formation of the league, if he knew of it. Yet he could hardly have been unaware of it, if it came into existence during those years of the war in which Athens was active in the North, for he himself saw service there.⁷ However, the argument *ex silentio* is weak at best. As for Xenophon, *Hellenica* V, 2, 11-19, though as a speech it may not be deemed strictly historical, let us accept its patent meaning, tentatively at least. What it seems to say is that the

¹ Demosthenes, XIX, 263: οὐπω Χαλκιδέων πάντων εἰς ἐν συνφικισμένων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων . . . (265) Ὅτι δὲ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρξαντό τινες . . . (266) πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιχώρους ἔχοντες συμμάχους . . . οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τούτων ἐδυνήθη σῶσαι, ἀλλὰ . . . τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀπωλώλεκεσαν τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ προδιδόντες. The persistence of the synoecizing process as late as the time of the Spartan intervention is noteworthy.

² *Arch. Mitt. aus Oest.* VII, 1883, pp. 47 ff.

³ *Hist. Num.*², p. 209.

⁴ *Cl. Phil.* IX, 1, pp. 24-34.

⁵ Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 198 (420 B. C.); Robinson, *Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931*, pp. 14-16; E. M. Walker in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911): *Olynthus*.

⁶ H. Gaebler, *Zeit. f. Num.* XXXV, 1925, p. 210.

⁷ Thuc. IV, 104.

formation and phenomenal growth of the league is a recent matter. The most important expansion is taking place at the very time that the envoy is speaking: οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα μέγα φνόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

He is not thinking of the activity of a long-standing league, for he goes on: ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε.

Then he proceeds to recount the steps by which the πρᾶγμα became so alarmingly great: 1. οὔτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ὅτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, 2. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας, 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου . . . , 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο.

The combination of tersely efficient aorists and concise transitional phrases, following the φνόμενον of his first sentence, surely implies that Cleigenes is summarizing a career so rapid and recent that its full significance has not yet dawned on somewhat distant observers. It seems to be the wrong tempo for an old familiar grievance.

Although the Acanthian envoy might be represented as exaggerating the arrogance and importance of the league, there is no motive, artistic or utilitarian, for telescoping the activity of half a century into a decade or two. Yet we must assume some such perversion of the facts if we push the founding of the league back into the fifth century. The best numismatic opinion,⁸ however, is agreed that the so-called league coinage (Apollo head, obverse; lyre or tripod, reverse, inscription, XAAKIDAEON) begins in the fifth century. Therefore, if we adopt a reactionary view and support the old-fashioned interpretation of the contemporary historians, we must offer an explanation of this coinage. Thucydides' use of the term, "Chalcidian" has considerable bearing on the

⁸ G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins* (London, 1906), p. 66; Head, quoted by Walker, *loc. cit.*; Gaebler, *loc. cit.* Sir Charles Oman, quoted by Walker, *loc. cit.*; Robinson, *Coins Found at Olynthus in 1928*, p. 14; *Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931*, p. 16.

question. In I, 57, he uses the term in the traditional way (like the Herodotean "Χαλκιδικὸν γένος") coupled, as often, with "the Bottiaeans." Now it seems clear that in this case we have reference to a group of towns racially and culturally one, politically sympathetic, at least. It is entirely probable that already these Chalcidians comprised a loose confederation of the kind that we assume for the Bottiaeans,⁹ for Perdiccas makes his proposal to "the Chalcidians," and not to the individual cities.

The synoecism is described in I, 58; as the result of it, Olynthus was transformed from an insignificant town into the most important city of the peninsula. Her population and war-time resources must have far surpassed those of any Chalcidic city not included in the synoecism, such as Torone. We would like to know how many other such towns there were. Thucydides' statement would be perfectly clear to a contemporary reader cognizant of the facts. He says that Perdiccas persuaded the Chalcidians to abandon and pull down their sea-coast cities and move inland, and make of Olynthus one strong city. Does that mean that Olynthus and the sea-coast towns constitute the whole territory of "the Chalcidic Tribe" or only a part of it? If only a part, is it the major or minor part? Strabo (VII, fr. 11) specifically says that most of the Chalcidian cities, which were about thirty in number, shared in the move. He goes on to say, "and they were called the Thraceward Chalcidians." That might mean—and it would be pleasant to think so—that the citizens of the enlarged Olynthus were called "οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς." More probably he refers to the thirty villages. At any rate "οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς" does not connote "league" for Strabo.

To return to the argument from the contemporary account: inasmuch as Olynthus gained her importance only by virtue of the synoecism which in all likelihood included the majority of the Chalcidians; and, further, was Chalcidic in a peculiarly national way, what more natural than the designation of the

⁹ So West, *Hist. Chalc. League*, p. 21.

citizenry as "Chalcidians"? The town, to be sure, retained its old name. Thus in a passage like II, 79, a request for help is sent to Olynthus, and a reinforcement of Chalcidians is dispatched.¹⁰

As early as Xenophon the city name had been adopted by all the folk in preference to the racial name, despite the formation of the league, which presumably was called Chalcidic.¹¹ Demosthenes consistently treats of Olynthus, only once mentioning the Chalcidians.¹² But in the time of Thucydides even the erstwhile citizens of abandoned coast villages considered themselves Chalcidian rather than Olynthian.

The bearing of this argument on the so-called League coinage is obvious. It is, primarily, the coinage of "the Chalcidians" of Olynthus. Adopting the chronology of Gaebler¹³ we may regard the unpretentious "Olynthian" coinage, beginning about 432 B. C. either as a brief continuation of a mintage begun prior to the synoecism or as a short-lived at-

¹⁰ But West, *op. cit.* p. 30, argues from this that troops enrolled from all the cities of the "League" were stationed at the "capital."

¹¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 135, where "league" and "Chalcidians" are used interchangeably.

¹² Demosthenes, XIX, 263. In I, 17, he urges the Athenians to "rescue their cities for the Olynthians"; he does not call these cities either "Chalcidian" or "of the league." They were probably the same as "τὰς πόλεις . . . τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ" of XIX, 266, and bore the relation to Olynthus that the Attic towns did to Athens. They may comprise the original towns of the synoecism of 432, recolonized from Olynthus. Even though the league was permanently crippled in 379, these racially Chalcidic towns would continue to have the closest relations with Olynthus. But with the non-Chalcidic towns Olynthus must have had to negotiate new alliances on a more impersonal basis, not founded on *commercium* and *connubium*. Such are the "περίχωροι σύμμαχοι" of XIX, 266. It is very significant that Demosthenes thinks that the greatness of the Olynthus of his time is dependent on (1) the fact that all the Chalcidians are "εἰς ἐν συνφικισμένοι"; (2) "their having all the neighbors as their allies."

¹³ *Op. cit.* p. 206. Cf. Robinson, *The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1928*, pp. 7, 14, 25; and *The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931*, pp. 8, 11, 16, 33, 34. Only three coins with horse on the obverse and eagle

tempt by the established Olynthian minority to assume a dominant position. In any event, it soon gave way to the Apollo coinage, for a time bearing the inscriptions "OAYNΘ," probably an epithet of the patron god of the city.¹⁴ But under pressure from the Chalcidian majority it is finally replaced by "ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ."

When, in the fourth century, these Chalcidian-Olynthians did undertake the formation of a league, they first gained the adherence of small neighboring towns. Obviously as strong a city as Olynthus would insist on their using her coinage. And when she sought the co-operation of larger towns, she could impose the use of her coinage by virtue of her status as mistress of the League. There is thus a peculiar appropriateness in the Acanthian envoy's reference to the waxing power of *Olynthus*, whereas, if the coinage were that of a long-standing *league*, he ought to have referred to it.

Minimizing the league, and stressing the synoecism and the dominance of Olynthus, *per se*, is consistent with an easy reading of the contemporary historians and statesmen, none of whom can be dismissed as indifferent to political science or grossly careless in the use of terminology. In this study their accounts have been taken as primary, and an attempt has been made to reconcile other data—numismatic in this case—with them.¹⁵

with inscription OATN on the reverse were found. Coins with Apollo head on obverse and lyre or tripod on reverse with ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ number 133 silver and 1160 bronze, out of a total of 2413. One such silver tetradrachm of the fifth century has OA on the upright pieces of the lyre, "asserting that the mint was at Olynthus," according to Professor Robinson, who believes that the Chalcidic League began soon after 423.

¹⁴ Gaebler, p. 208.

¹⁵ Cf. G. Glotz, *The Greek City and its Institutions* (New York, 1930), pp. 293, 362, 363, for a suggestive distinction between league, sympolity, synoecism and unitary state. He designates the Chalcidic union as sympolity and synoecism, verging on a unitary state in 383 B. C.

VITA

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